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Sketch Of The Life And Times

...of...

REV. GABRIEL RICHARD

...of...

Detroit, Michigan.

RICHARD R. ELLIOTT.

The first year of the nineteenth century marked the centenary of the foundation of the Catholic faith on the littorals of the strait, which was contemporary with the founding of the colony of Detroit, by M. de La Mothe Cadillac under the auspice of Catholic France in July 1701.

Religion was a prominent feature in the composition of the perilous and romantic expedition led by Cadillac from the shores of the St. Lawrence to the site now occupied by the city of Detroit.

The government of New France had appointed the Recollet Father Constantin De Lhalle chaplain of the joint civil and military expedition, and of the contemplated colony and fort.

After the defensive works had been completed and inclosed within a strong palisade, a log chapel was built, which on the festival of Ste. Anne, July 26, 1701, was dedicated by Father De Lhalle and placed under the patronage of the mother of the Blessed Virgin. This was the first religious edifice of its name in Detroit.

This first chapel was destroyed by an incendiary fire a few years later; it was replaced by a larger building, which in its turn had to be destroyed during an attack of hostile Indians, for strategic reasons. A third chapel was erected on a still larger scale and dedicated under the same patronage.

Soon after, the venerable founder of religion in Detroit, while reading his breviary in his garden, as was his custom, was killed by the bullet of a hostile Indian. He was buried in the habit he wore under the altar of the chapel. This martydom occurred in 1706. The third chapel enlarged from time to time, served during nearly half a century, when it was replaced by the church erected by Father Simplicius Bocquet, which was consecrated with religious pomp and ceremony, and with civil and military eclat March 16th, 1755.

The consecrating prelate was Rt. Rev. Henri Marie du Breuil de Pont Briand, sixth Bishop of Quebec.

From the early date of the ceremony it is apparent the Bishop may have wintered at the post.

While acting officially as chaplains of Fort Pontchartrain, the Recollet Friars at Detroit served as pastors of Ste. Anne. At the total eclipse of the French régime in 1761, the venerable Father Bocquet became the spiritual and social mentor of the French race on the north littoral of the strait; while the famous Jesuit, Father Pierre Potier, superior of the Huron Mission on the south littoral, also directed the spiritual and social interests of the French *habitants*. It was fortunate for this Catholic and intelligent

race, that two such distinguished priests as Fathers Bocquet and Potier, were their spiritual and social guides during the exciting events which succeeded British rule at Detroit; which included the conspiracy of Pontiac, whose home was in the immediate vicinity on the south littoral. After a pastorate of 25 years Father Bocquet was recalled to Quebec in 1782. He was the last of the line of Recollet Friars who during 81 years had officiated at Detroit.

The parochial register of Ste. Anne during this long period shows the autographic record of their pastoral work, attested by their signatures; and is in evidence of the zeal, the intelligence and the scholarly ability of all these Recollet Friars.

The Bishop of Quebec appointed the secular priest, the Very Rev. Jean Francois Aubert, successor to Father Bocquet, and as the Venerable Father Pierre Potier, S. J., superior of the Huron mission on the opposite shore, had passed to eternity, Father Hubert was clothed with vicarial jurisdiction over the faithful on the north and south littorals of the strait. Four years later this distinguished ecclesiastic was elevated to the episcopacy and became the ninth Bishop of Quebec. Father Payet succeeded to the pastorate of Ste. Anne; he in turn was succeeded by Father Frechette, who was the last incumbent under Quebec.

He was recalled when the British evacuated Detroit in 1796, when Bishop Carroll of the American hierarchy assumed control. This is but a brief outline of the ecclesiastical history of the church of Ste. Anne during nearly all the eighteenth century. It is however sufficient to show that during this century the pastorate of the mother church of the Northwest had been administered by holy and distinguished priests, during the French régime, as well as during the British occupation.

In the meantime the French Revolution in its destructive progress had been indirectly aiding the growth of the Church in the United States, by the involuntary exile of many eminent ecclesiastics who were forced to leave France and who found a refuge on our shores, and a welcome from Bishop Carroll during the earlier years of his administration.

The tardy relinquishment of British control, contrary to treaty provisions, over the extensive Northwestern frontier, which thereby fell under the spiritual jurisdiction of Bishop Carroll, rendered it necessary for this prelate to have priests at his disposal familiar with the French language, to serve the interests of religion in these distant regions requiring pastoral care.

It will be realized how providential it was for the interests of the American Church, that the cradle of its hierarchy was surrounded, so to speak, by so many distinguished French ecclesiastics available for educational as well as for missionary work, at a time when the limited number of priests was inadequate for religious work within the boundaries of the original thirteen States of the American Federation.

One of the first appointments made by Bishop Carroll for this distant region of his episcopal control, was the Very Rev. Michael Levadoux, a French Sulpitian, who was, in 1796, sent with plenary vicarial jurisdiction to assume the pastorate of the church of Ste. Anne of Detroit, which had been vacated, as has been stated, by Father Frechette.

Father Lavadoux was a zealous priest, and familiar as he was with the language of the people comprised within the extensive parochial territory of Ste. Anne, the transfer of spiritual allegiance on the part of the latter from the Bishop of Quebec to the Bishop of Baltimore, was effected without friction. He found much work to do, while he still yearned for his return to France, and he communicated his wishes in this respect to Bishop Carroll, in the meantime zealously appiying his best efforts to the improvement of the spiritual interest of his parishioners.

Among those who were so fortunate as to escape from France before the climax of revolutionary horrors had been reached, were a number of Sulpitians whom the Abbé Eméry—Superior-General of the Order, had by arrangement, sent to Baltimore, as intended professors in the faculty of an ecclesiastical seminary which was to be established. The last party of these young gentlemen arrived in 1792, and among them was the Rev. Gabriel Richard, a native of Saintes, France, where he was born October 15th, 1764.

His family was respectable and on his mother's side he was descended from illustrious Catholic stock.

Inclined from early youth to the sacredotal state, he concluded his theological studies at Angers and went to Issy, near Paris, where he received holy orders and became a Sulpitian in 1791.

As the seminary at Baltimore was in no condition to receive professors, most of the young priests accepted the offer of Bishop Carroll of missionary work, and were assigned to duty in the out-lying settlements of the extensive country comprised within his episcopal control.

To Father Richard was assigned the pastoral charge of the French settlements in southern Illinois, where Missions had been established by the Jesuit Fathers during the seventeenth century, and designated as "Kaskaskia and its tributary Missions."

Father Richard commenced his missionary career before the close of the first year of his sacredotal life.

The people confided to his pastoral care were the descendants of the original French colonists. Since the death of Father Meurin, the last of the Illinois Jesuit missionaries in that region, nearly a generation had grown up without pastoral control. They were generally of nomadic habits and addicted to dissipation.

Father Richard found them demoralized.

He described their condition in a letter to Bishop Carroll as follows:

"The people at this post are the worst in all Illinois, there is no religion among them, scarcely any one attending Mass even on Sunday; intemperance, debauchery and idleness are supreme."

With such a people his progress was slow, but. he was not discouraged.

The people of some of the settlements were better disposed and among these he reaped his first harvest of regenerated souls.

In time he had the happiness to reclaim and to restore to habits of Christian life, the greater portion of his flock, between whom and their zealous young pastor, a strong feeling of attachment and esteem had grown up.

For a young and talented Frenchman, fresh from the circles of cultured people in France, his experience in the wilds of Southern Illinois had been very rough; the absence of sympathic companions made his life at first solitary among a people whose abandonment and obduracy would have discouraged and perhaps disgusted most men similarly placed.

Nor was his experience without peril; long and tedious journeys. sometimes on foot and generally indifferently mounted were necessary; had not the roving bush-ranger known *by experience*, that the spoil of a "black gown" was hardly worth the cost of a charge of powder and lead, the young priest's life would have been sacrificed.

That his missionary labors had been appreciated by Bishop Carroll, seems evident by his appointment as succeessor of Father Levadoux in the pastorate of Ste Anne's of Detroit. It was a deserved promotion, which in fact transfered the young and brilliant Sulpitian from a wild frontier region, to a Catholic town, where religion had been well maintained during a century, and where he was destined to perpetuate his name as the apostle of religion and of civilization in the Northwest.

He arrived at Detroit in June 1798, bringing with him Rev. John Dilhet, a young Sulpitian and an accomplished gentleman.

Detroit from its strategic position as the outlet of the water ways was connecting the great lakes above, with the waters flowing into the Atlantic Ocean, had been the seat of government in this region, first under French, next under British, and at the closing years of the 18th century under American rule. Since the establishment of the post and colony by Cadillac in 1701, its history had been marked by many romantic, as well as by many tragic episodes. It was a fortified post, with military dependencies, with a population exclusive of the garrison, of nearly 2,000 souls; it was essentially a French town, while its commerical importance was second only in Northwestern trade to that of Montreal.

The parochial jurisdiction of the church of Ste. Anne extended from the head waters of Lake Erie along the American littorals of the rivers and lakes above, to the Sault de Ste. Marie, the islands in Lakes Huron and Michigan, and around the coast of the latter, to the mouth of the St. Joseph River, and to the present locality of Chicago.

At the time of Father Richard's arrival the local parishioners of Ste. Anne probably numbered 1,500 souls; while the Catholic population in the extensive region under the parochial control, may not have exceeded 5,000 souls. The local parishioners, who were principally traders, were the descendents of the original French colonists; the French language prevailed; it was spoken with purity by the better classes, but with a *patois* by many.

There were in the town several families descended from the French nobility, while the heads of other families were of high mercantile standing. The better classes lived and dressed well, while there was a refined social organization surpassed only in the older eastern cities on the sea-board. This is according to the published testimony of Weld, Campbell, and other intelligent authorities. Scarcely a dozen persons of the English speaking population were Catholics.

The town had long been the center of Indian negotiations, and of Indian traffic; it had been the rendezvous periodically at certain trading seasons each year, of hunters, *voyageurs* and *coureurs de bois*, who found congenial quarters in the *cabarets* scattered up and down the water front where they slept most of the day and held high carnival at night with the half-breeds of both sexes. During the same seasons it was customary for Indian tribes and delegations of tribes, to come to Detroit, to receive their annuities and to barter their peltries.

Their respective camps were generally located on the sandy shore below the fort; these were visited by some of the transient *habitues* of the *cabarets*, whose knowledge of the Indian dialects and whose supply of "fire water"

made them welcome. The orgies which ensued need not be described; but when the Indians departed for their homes, some young wives and daughters were left, who, with their illegitimate offspring were sooner or later abandoned by their heartless seducers.

This periodical evil was dreaded by the Christian element of the town. It was in fact an excrescence whose appearance could not be prevented.

The church of Ste. Anne at this time was the fourth of its name, it had been built as stated, by Father Bocquet. Father Richard commenced his parochial administration with prudence and determination; his austere life, his zeal and his eloquence, soon exerted a salutary influence in the reformation of existing abuses, and in the moral elevation and religious discipline of the wayward members of his parishioners. He enlarged and improved the parochial schools and then visited in their turn the settlements outside the town, from the River Raisin near Lake Erie, to the shores of Lake St. Clair. After a year's preliminary work had been accomplished, he embarked on a trading schooner to visit the missions upon the littorals and islands of Lakes Huron and Michigan, making his first station at the Island of Mackinac.

The nominal Catholic population of the island comprised whites, half-breeds, and Indians, the latter predominating but their condition had become greatly demoralized; so bad was the situation that Father Richard spent three months in missionary labors on the island.

In a letter to Bishop Carroll, he describes the condition of the Indian population as follows: "The trade here is principally in liquors, and as long as this continues there can be no prospect of making the Indians permanent Christians; though the traders acknowledge it would be better for their own interest if no rum were sold to the natives, but they persist in supplying them for fear of losing their trade.

"God only knows how many evils flow from this traffic. English rum has been more fatal to the American Indians than war. Several Indian chiefs have asked the government to suppress the trade in liquor to the Indians by law." Father Richard went from Mackinac to the islands of the Georgian Bay, where he found the Indian condition much better; after visiting Sault Ste. Marie, the lateness of the season required that he should return to Detroit, which he reached after an absence of four months of continous missionary labor.

He found Father Levadoux ready and anxious to return to France, and the vicarial powers from Bishop Carroll awaiting his arrival.

Left in complete control, he and Father Dilhet commenced the instruction of his parishioners from the River Raisin to Lake St. Clair, to receive the Sacrament of Confirmation at the hands of Bishop Denaut of Quebec, who, at the invitation of Bishop Carroll, would visit Detroit for this purpose in the summer of 1801. It is probable that Confirmation had not been administered in Ste. Anne's since 1755, when the church was consecrated by Bishop du Breuil de Pont Briand; should this have been the fact, the large numbers of postulants to be instructed may be accounted for.

On Sunday June 25th, on Monday June 26th, on Wednesday June 28th, and finally on Monday July 2d, Bishop Denaut confirmed 521 persons, whose recorded ages ranged from 13 to 80 years. The preparatory work of Father Richard and of his assistant Father Dilhet, in behalf of such a large number may be appreciated. The manuscript list of names and ages of those confirmed is among the Richard documents on file in the archives of Ste. Anne's Church, Detroit. The highest number of names of any one family in the list is that of the Campeaus, 38; while other family groups next in number, range from 20 down to 8. The descendents of the above, and of nearly all the other recipients of the sacrament are more or less prominent in the Catholic Franco-American constituency of Detroit and its vicinity at the present day; while the number lost to the faith during all the century is insignificant.

Thus, in the opening years of Bishop Carroll's episcopate, Father Richard built upon the foundation which had been so well laid during the 18th century, the superstructure of Catholicity comprising the parishioners of Ste. Anne's, whose spiritual guide he was destined to be during the three first decades of the 19th century.

During the years 1801, 2, 3, and 4, Father Richard directed his attention to parochial work, the enlargement of the church and the increase of educational facilities for his local parishioners, as well as for those outside the town.

In 1804 he selected four young ladies, Elizabeth Williams, Angelique Campau, Monique Labadie and Elizabeth Lyon, reeresentatives of the best and most wealthy families in Detroit, who were instructed by himself and Father Dilhet and prepared as teachers in the academy for the higher education of their sex, which he opened and supplied with books and apparatus. Of the young ladies named, Miss Williams who was a sister of General John R. Williams, and Miss Lyon, never married, but continued to

teach gratuitously nearly fifty years, those of their sex. Miss Campau also remained single, leading a retired life; but Miss Monique Labadie became the wife of Antoine Beaubein a wealthy proprietor, and in 1854, she endowed the convent and academy of the Sacred Heart in Detroit with a property valued at $100,000.

Looking beyond the local interests of his parishioners, Father Richard opened a seminary for young men, in which he and Father Dilhet lectured upon religious history and upon topics calculated to develop a vocation for the sacredotal state among the students.

Thus in 1804, Father Richard had in operation in Detroit; primary schools for boys and girls, an academy for young ladies; and a seminary for young men. The parochial management was such as to attract a large attendance at Ste. Anne's on Sundays and festivals. Thus far, in six years, the religious situation in Detroit, under the direction of Father Richard had become an ideal realization of Christian life. The previous year 1803, was marked by a historical event in the death of the commandant of the United States troops, and virtual ruler of the Northwest Territory, Colonel John Francis Hamtramck, of the first regiment of United States Infantry, who died in the Catholic faith, in his forty sixth year, and who was buried with religious and military honors in the cemetery adjoining Ste. Anne's.

In June 1805, a spiritual retreat, or mission was in progress in Ste. Anne's. On the forenoon of June 11th, the river shore was lined with the canoes of parishioners, and the field adjoining the church covered with the carioles of distant parishioners, who had come to attend the mission, when a fire broke out which destroyed the old historic town, Catholic from beginning to end, and, rich in historical memories from it's foundation more than a century previous.

The Catholic features, which included the saint names of its narrow streets, together with the historic fourth church of Ste Anne, with schools, presbytery, and academies were all obliterated.

"I was occupied," wrote Father Dilhet, "with Father Richard when a messenger came to inform me that three houses had been consumed and there was no hope of saving the rest. I exhorted the faithful who were present to help each other, and immediately commenced the celebration of a Low Mass, after which we had barely time to remove the vestments and furniture of the church, with the effects of the adjoining presbytery, when both buildings were enveloped in flames. In the course of three hours, from

nine A. M., until noon, nothing was to be seen of the city except a mass of burning debris and chimney tops stretching like pyramids into the air; fortunately there was no wind during the conflagration, which allowed the smoke to ascend an immense height. It was the most majestic, and at the same time the most frightful spectacle I ever witnessed."

Thus in a few hours, Father Richard witnessed amid a frightful scene, the destruction of his church, his presbytery, and his schools; in fact the principal material results of his six years work; with the partial ruin of some of his parishioners, and the destruction of the homes of the more wealthy of the others.

Some suffering ensued, but Father Richard was not dismayed. Day and night he worked for the temporary needs of the people; he obtained tents and food from the military authorities, which he distributed to the homeless ones in the adjacent fields without regard to creed or race.

Soon after he established the parochial center of Ste. Anne at Spring Wells, on the sandy shore of the strait two miles below where for a century had stood the ancient fane of Detroit.

The spacious Jacques Lassale homestead with extensive outbuildings and a large warehouse, was, at the time vacant, because of the recent death of the venerable merchant of that name.

The mansion was two stories in the center with one story wings. He leased the homestead, adapting the wings for educational purposes and making the main building his presbytery.

He remodeled the warhouse so as to make a large sized chapel; with altar, spacious sanctuary and vestry; and he provided ample seating accommodations. The temporary chapel he placed, after dedication, under the protection of Ste. Anne, in the historic line of the previous century. The location was one of the most agreeable on the American shore. It was where the strait curved, forming a fine bay, which developed lower down and was dotted with pretty islands terminating with Grosse Isle, around whose shores the waters of the great lakes above, flowed into Lake Erie. To reach it an additional journey of two miles became necessary for the eastern parishioners. This was accomplished by the aid of the *cariole* or the canoe during the summer season, and by the fast pony sleigh on the ice or on the highway during winter.

In this locality for fifteen years, the parochial services of Ste. Anne's of Detroit were held, until the basement of the new church in the city had been prepared for Divine Service.

In the meantime the educational interests of his parishioners were well cared for by Father Richard. In 1808, there were in operation two primary schools, an academy for young men, a seminary for young ladies which was provided with chemical and astronomical apparatus, and a school for the technical education of Indian girls, which among other requisites contained a dozen or more spinning wheels. This educational status existed in the Catholic parish of Ste. Anne at Detroit, nearly a century ago.

In the same year, 1808, Paul Malcher, a wealthy bachelor of good French ancestral stock, donated his farm, which had a river front of a quarter of a mile, and which extended to the north about three miles, to a number of gentlemen, his neighbors, for the religious and educational interests of the people of the locality in which he lived, which was called the *Cote du Nord Est.* In the following year a parochial organization was formed by the election of *marguilliers* or church wardens; a church and school were built on the river front of the "Malcher Farm;" Father Richard or his assistant officiated in this church on Sundays and festivals. This *Cote du Nord Est* establishment proved of great convenience to the faithful living in the eastern suburbs of the old town along the littoral as far up as Lake St. Clair. In accordance with the rule in Lower Canada at the time, the temporalities of parishes were managed by *marguilliers*, who were in fact trusteees, who collected the revenues, paid the salaries of the pastors and the other expenses. They were elected for terms of three years by the parishioners and each year one of their number was appointed fiduciary representative of the *fabrique.* Up to the time of the fire Father Richard had not been annoyed by the interference of his *marguilliers;* but after this catastrophe, they occasionally interfered and caused some unpleasantness. This caused his letter to Bishop Carroll, in which he wrote: "As it will be very difficult to have a church built here without some assistance from abroad, I would suggest the raising of a subscription among the Catholics of Maryland for the erection of a church and an academy at Detroit, under the direction of the pastor to prevent the constant and troublesome interference of some of the *marguilliers.*"

The majority of the *marguilliers* however were always in accord with their devoted pastor; but the fractious conduct of one or more of their number who were always in a minority caused annoyance. He had however the love and esteem of the great majority of the faithful and was regarded with the highest respect by the non-Catholic community.

In 1807 he was invited by the Governor and other officials to lecture to them in the English language. "I was sensible of my incapacity," he wrote Bishop Carroll, "but as there was no English minister here of any denomination I thought it might be of some utility to take possession of the grounnd." He accordingly held the English meetings every Sunday in the Council House, and lectured upon the great principles of the Christian religion and kindred topics without centroversial allusions, to the elite of the American residents.

This was probably the first non Catholic series of *seances* held by a Catholic priest in the American Republic.

In 1808–9 he visited Baltimore and other Eastern cities, probably with a view to solicit donations for rebuilding Ste. Anne's; a printing press and font of type were given him which were shipped to Detroit and set up at the Spring Wells presbytery. In the mean time when returning, be engaged the services of a practical printer, Mr. A. Coxeshawe, whom he brought to Detroit. The latter instructed the assistant sacristan, Theophilus Metter, in the art of printing and he became the first printer that learned the art in Michigan.

From the press Father Richard issued a series of religious and educational books, and an edition of the Epistles and Gospels of 400 pages for Sundays and festivals, in English and French. The works printed according to their title pages appeared in their order as follows :

L' Ame Penitent. Detroit 1809. 16mo. pp. 300.

The Child's Spelling Book. 1809. 12mo. pp. 250.

La Journee du Chretien. 1811. 16mo. pp. 350:

Les Ornemens de la Memoire. 1811. 12mo. pp. 130.

Epistles and Gospels for Sundays ann festivals in English and French. 1812. 12mo. pp. 396.

Petite Catechisme Historque. 1812. 12mo. pp. 300.

Journal des Enfans. 1812. 12mo. pp. 196.

Other works may have been issued but I have seen no copies other than those described. One edition however of a 10 x 16 four page newspaper, in English with one and half columns in French, was printed in 1809; but no second number of the "Essay of Michigan" has been found during the past fifty years.

Those only who have been authors, translators, compilers or even proof readers of works for publication, know of the labor connected therewith. The works noted, and others never published, were prepared for the press at the sacrifice of much personal attention by Father Richard, they are comparatively free from errors; they were published between the summer of 1809 and the spring of 1812. Their publication which was interrupted by the war of 1812, attests the untiring energy of the scholar, while their contents mirror the paternal heart of the priest and pastor.

LES ORNEMENS
DE
LA MEMOIRE
OU
LES TRAITS BRILLANS
DES POETES FRANCOIS
LES PLUS CELEBRES;
Avec des Diſſertations, ſur chaque Genre de Style,
Pour perfectionner l'education de la Jeuneſſe.

AU DETROIT,
IMPRIMÉ PAR A. COXSHAW.
1811.

To teach, to edify, and to perfect intellectually, in morality and in religion, the youth of his flock, was the main object sought in the publication of these books; nor should it be forgotten that the fire of 1805 had destroyed the collections of French literature distributed among the leading families at that time in Detroit, which was indeed an irreparable loss.

But to Father Richard, a Catholic priest, belongs the honor of first publishing a portion of the Holy Scripture in the Northwest, besides devotional, educational and literary works.

Another and a grevious calamity was impending over Detroit. This was the war of 1812. The old city, far removed from the support of the older States, was fated to suffer; and the first serious blow felt was the pusillanimous surrender of the post by Governor Hull. To describe the demoralized condition of the people after the reoccupation by the British, with their Shawnee and other Indian allies, would be impossible.

Priests are regarded by Christian nations at war among themselves, as non-combatants. Father Richard was every inch a priest, but each of those inches was thoroughly and patriotically American.

The refugee Canadian tories hated Father Richard on account of his patriotic American sentiments and influence. At their instigation he was arrested by General Brock the British commander, in violation of the usages of war, and sent a prisoner to the guard house on the opposite side of the strait.

Here he generously used his great influence with the Indian chiefs to save American prisoners from torture. On his return at the close of the war he found the people threatened with famine on account of the great scarcity of food; he immediately purchased a large supply of provisions and seed grain for the farmers, which he distributed to all who were in need.

"And as long as the scarcity lasted, so long did he continue to be the living providence of the destitute." (*U. S. Catholic Magazine*, Vol. 6, pp. 99) In the meantime on the elevation of Bishop Flaget to the See of Bardstown in 1810, Kentucky, Indiana and Michigan, as then constituted, were assigned to his spiritual care, Father Richard retaining his vicarial jurisdiction.

In the new plan of Detroit, Ste. Anne's was assigned a new and more extensive tract for church, schools and cemetery, which was satisfactory to the pastor, to a majority of the *marguilliers* and to the parishioners generally, and formally accepted. But the *marguilliers* of the *Cote du Nord Est*, wanted the church of Ste. Anne to be established in their parish, and went so far as to organize a corporation, usurping the chartered title and name of Ste Anne of Detroit.

A serious scandal, resulting in open schism followed: the authority of Father Richard was defied amid a scene of great excitement when he was personally menaced by two of the more violent of the recalcitrant *marguilliers* of the *Cote du Nord Est.*

A deputation from both parishes went to Bardstown and both sides were heard by Bishop Flaget; this venerable prelate sustained his vicar, Father Richard, and issued a pastoral interdicting the *Cote du Nord Est* church in 1817, naming the offending *marguilliers*, but adding a special penalty against two who had greviously outraged their devoted pastor. This document is written in the French language; it is copied verbatim in the register of the *marguilliers* of Ste. Anne, it is dated at Loretto, Ky., February 27th, 1817, and opens as follows:

"MANDEMENT.

A messieurs les membres de la Corporation de Ste. Anne du Detroit, Seavior, Gabriel Richard, Curé, Gabriel Godfrey, Pierre Desnoyers, Francois Gamelin, et Barnabé Campau, et a toutes les Catholiques attaché a leur cause:

BENOIT JOSEPH,
par la grace de Dieu et l'approbation du Saint Siége
EVEQUE DE BARDSTOWN.

A tons les vrai Catholiques du Detroit:

Salut et benediction.

Notre tres cherferes:"

The bishops recites the history of the schism in detail; prescribes the course to be pursued by Father Richard for the transfer of the remains of the dead, which had been objected to by the *Cote du Nord Est marguilliers*, from the locality of the old, to the new cemetery; authorizes the building of a new church of Ste. Anne, and designates its locality; recites the devotional and heroic work of Father Richard, stigmatizing the ingratitude of his opponents who had fomented grave scandals; and he then formally places the church and parish of the *Cote du Nord Est*, under interdict as stated.

This *mandement* contains 1450 words; it was read on three successive Sundays in Ste. Anne's.

In all the documentary history of the episcopacy of the American church during the first half of the expiring century, there probably may not be found a pastoral so charitably inspired, so wisely worded, in which authority is defined in such a conclusive manner; and the dignity of the episcopal and parochial control so clearly upheld. The spiritual miseries of an interdict upon the community of a Catholic parish, were soon realized by the innocent people of the *Coto du Nord Est*, who had, as a rule, no sympathy with their ill advised *marguilliers* in the revolt of the latter against their beloved pastor.

The heart of the venerable Bishop Flaget was moved to compassion at the desolate condition of this portion of his spiritual children and in the following year he came from Bardstown, (the journey was made on horseback), to endeavor to reconcile the rebellious ones with their pastor. He succeeded so well that the preliminaries of submission were soon agreed upon; the *Mandement* of the Bishop was to be officially accepted by the *marquilliers* on behalf of the congregation of the *Cote du Nord Est* church, and the time was appointed for the removal of the interdict.

To render the ceremony as impressive as possible the Bishop was conducted to the *Nord Est* in grand procession, the music of the U. S. regimental band added to the occasion, while the cannon of the fort fired a passing salute. Arrived at the *Cote du Nord Est* church, addresses were delivered in English and French, the interdict was formally removed and an affecting reconciliation took place between the schismatics and their venerable pastor Father Richard, who was tendered a handsome subscription for the new church of Ste. Anne, the corner stone of which was laid by Bishop Flaget on his return June 11th, 1818. In this manner was the most serious opposition experienced by Father Richard in his pastoral career, overcome and set at rest by the saintly Bishop of Bardstown.

The building of the 5th church of Ste. Anne was a heroic undertaking, involving a heavy burden upon Father Richard.

The basement was first dedicated and used for Divine Service in 1820; it was officially named the "subterranean chapel;" the upper structure was so far completed that it was dedicated in 1828. It was a large and imposing church for that period in Detroit, having two towers in front and rear, with a prominent dome in the center; it dominated all other buildings and was a conspicuous land mark to the traveller by land or water. It was enlarged in 1833 by Bishop Résé who made it his cathedral; it was so used by the latter's administrator Bishop Lefevere, until the consecration of the cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul June 29th, 1848, when Ste. Anne's reverted to the parochial use of the Franco-American Catholics.

On January 13th, 1822, the American born and pious Dominican Father Edward Fenwick, was consecrated Bishop of Cincinnati, and included in the territory designated for his spiritual control was Michigan. In the previous year Father Richard embarked in July, bound for the Island of Mackinac on a general tour to the littorals of the coasts and islands of the extensive regions over which he held vicarial control. His missionary work at Mackinac occupied three weeks, when he embarked in a large batteau

camping on shore at night and coasting the eastern shores and islands during the month of August. It was during this journey that he located near the Marquette river the grave of Father James Marquette, which he marked with religious ceremonies, giving the date of the great explorer's death, May 9th, 1675. After visiting Sault Ste. Marie he returned by the way of Lake Michigan and after visiting St. Louis he went to Bardstown and from thence to Cincinnati to assist at the ordination of the Rev. Francis Vincent Badin, with whom he returned to Detroit. In a summary of his extended visitations in the lake regions of Michigan, sent to Archbishop Maréchal, he stated the total nominal Catholic population to be about 6,000 souls, five churches or chapels, with only two priests, himself and his assistant to minister to their spiritual needs. In 1823 he was nominated as the third representative to Congress for the territory of Michigan; he was elected by a decisive majority composed largely of American residents, his opponent being General John R. Williams, who had a large following.

His appearance in the House of Representatives created a sensation, for he was the first Catholic priest who had been one of its members. His demeanor commanded great respect. He had accepted the nomination with a view to utilize the emoluments for Ste. Anne's Church.

He spoke but little and that wisely and did much for his constituents and the Union.

In the Congressional Globe of 1823-4, will be found a report of his famous speech in favor of an appropriation for government roads from Detroit through Michigan, in which he foretold the future commercial importance of Chicago. Through his efforts the military roads leading to Chicago, the Grand River valley, Lakes Michigan and Huron, were built by the Federal government, over the lines on which have since been constructed the iron roadways which connect the East with the West and open Michigan to the commerce of the world. While in Washington he solicited and obtained aid for the maintenance of schools among the Indian tribes under his jurisdiction. An authentic outline of the congressional career of Father Richard, will be found in the paper read before the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York on February 28th, 1892, by Hon. Thomas Addis Emmet Weadock, M. C., from Michigan, which was published in the *U. S. Catholic Historical Magazine*, Vol. 4, No. 13, 1891-2.

The Ottawa and Pottawotomi nations had long solicited a *black gown;* finally Father Richard sent them Father Francis Vincent Badin in 1824.

The same year Father Dejean and Belamy were sent to his assistance. These were young priests from France who had volunteered for the American Indian missions.

After a course of study of the Ottawa dialect, Father Richard sent them to the Indian missions of Lakes Huron and Michigan, thus relieving Father Badin who returned to Detroit. Father Dejean subsequently evangelized the Ottawas and restored them to Christian life. (Ann Prop. III, p. 344.)

Father Richard served but one term in Congress, and returned to his Parochial and missionary work. His Congressional salary was devoted to the cost of building Ste. Anne's which was approaching completion.

He had in the meantime built his presbytery on the eastern line of the church domain. In 1826 he sent Father Badin to visit the Indian tribes in Wisconsin, who extended his missionary work as far north as Prarie du Chien, where he restored the old missionary establishment serving a population of about 600 souls.

In the following year Bishop Fenwick made his episcopal visitations to this distant section of his diocese, he was amply repaid for the fatigue of the tedious journey by the evidence of religious progress. "The Indian tribes visited afforded him peculiar joy, morality and fervent piety prevailed among their people when but a few years before they had been merged in ignorance, superstition and debauchery; the happiest days of my life," he wrote, "were those passed among the Ottawa and Pottawotomi Indians." In 1830 Father Richard visited the Pottawotomi nation on the St. Joseph river, near the Indiana border, where he had an affecting interview with the head chief Po-ka gon who begged for a *black gown* for his people.

Probably the greatest missionary work accomplished under the direction of any one priest in the United States during the first three decades of this century, may be claimed for Father Richard. In fact, in no part of the country was there a field so extensive or so difficult of access as that extending from the head waters of Lake Erie to the Sault de St. Marie which had been confided to his care under the metropolitan administrations of Archbishops Carroll, Neale, Marèchal and Whitfield, and under Bishops Flaget and Fenwick.

In educational work in his own city Father Richard was the pioneer; while his methods it may be claimed were half a century in advance of the time in which he lived; he was among the founders of the University of Michigan, which was finally located at Ann Arbor; under his zealous management Catholic education dwarfed all other systems in Detroit. It was in this city his greatest honors were won, while during his pastoral career, misfortunes most crushing, crosses and trials hardly concievable were experienced and overcome, but never dishonor or despair.

His courage never left him. For the performance of his official duty under the express order of his bishop, he was prosecuted in the local court of Detroit, heavily fined and imprisoned. For his patriotic American sentiments he was confined in a British guard house; but whether in the church, in prison, or in Congress, his priestly dignity never left him; he stood erect, the true priest of God's Holy Church, the conscientious and fearless dispenser of her sacraments and the administrator of her laws. After the fire of 1805, he provided for the homeless. After the War of 1812, he saved his people from an impending famine. He was warmly supported by the bishops under whom he served, who honored him by sending his name to Rome for the mitre of the first Bishop of Detroit; but his nomination for this deserved honor was coincident with his demise. He was destined to close his long and distinguished career in a manner characteristic with his apostolic life, and as sublime as it was heroic.

In the summer of 1832, the Asiatic cholera afflicted Detroit. The city was not prepared to resist an epidemic, while its sanitary condition was faulty. The Catholic population felt the ravages of the virulent plague most severely for many among them were unacclimated and in moderate circumstances.

Fathers Richard and Badin devoted themselves to the sick and dying, day and night, administering the Holy Sacraments and burying the dead. During the two months in which the pestilence had full sway, the venerable pastor allowed himself no rest until, fairly worn out, he finally succumbed.

When first attacked, he was saved for the time, but his days were numbered; he never fully recovered and died without pain September 13th, 1832. During his last hours he was cheered and fortified by four holy and distinguished ecclesiastics; these were Bishop Fenwick, Father Frederick Baraga, the pioneer Redemptorist Father Francis Hotsher and the saintly Father Francis Vincent Badin. His remains were temporarily buried in the adjoining cemetery, but subsequently placed in the cyrpt beneath St. Anne's, which he had struggled so long and so hard to build, and which he loved so well. When in 1889, this venerable church was taken down, the sixth church of Ste. Anne had been completed on a grander scale; to the vault beneath this church the remains of Father Richard were translated, which will probably remain their final and appropriate resting place. The memorial window which had been placed in the old church was given a prominent place in the new church. Father Richard, as the manuscript records of the *marguilliers* which I have referred to show, had an exceptional

business method. His receipts given for money paid on account of the church, of which I have a number, are signed in a fiduciary capacity, either on behalf of the corporation of Ste. Anne. or of the managing *marguillier* in charge of the affairs at the time. Here is a statement of account for the burial of a member of the Ebert family in 1804. Payment is acknowledged on behalf of Pierre Chéne the *marguillier* in charge for the year 1808.

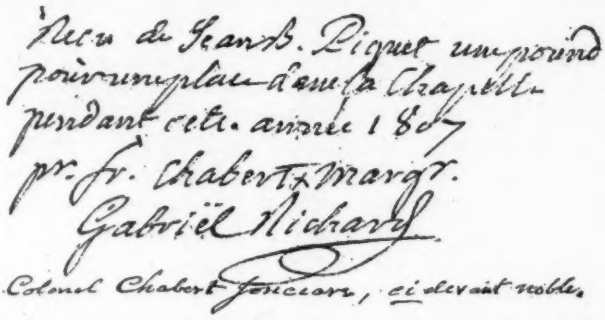
1804 le Dr. Eberts[1] doit a l'Eglise Ste. Anne
8bre. 10 pr. Enterrement de Jr. Eberts 28tt = Li. 17. 4

Detroit le 11 Janvr. 1808 — Recu le montant en plein
pr. Pierre Chene[2] marg.r. Gabriel Richard

1. The descendants of the Eberts family are prominent Catholics.

2. The Chéne family are parishioners of St. Joachim's parish. This family date their arrival with the retinue of Cadillac 1701.

Another is a receipt given Jean B. Piquet for a seat in the chapel during the year 1807. It is signed in behalf of Francis Chabert—(Joncaire), the Colonel of that name, a *ci devant* noble of France.


Reçu de Jean B. Piquet une pound pour une place dans la Chapelle pendant cette année 1807
pr. fr. Chabert x Marg.r.
Gabriel Richard
x Colonel Chabert Joncaire, ci devant noble.

Father Richard's participation in the current events of his times was so prominent that local historians of eminence have assigned to this priest and his works an honorable place in the early history of American rule, in the history of religion, and in the advancement of civilization under that rule in Detroit and in the Northwest Territory.

As time has developed western history, the historic form of Richard becomes more distinct in its grand outlines.

Judge Cooley says of him in his *Memorials*, p. 142: "Father Richard would have been a man of mark in almost any community and at any time."

Judge James V. Campbell, who in his younger days was a contemporary of Richard, says of him in his *Outlines of the Political History of Michigan*, p. 253: "His tall and sepulchral figure was familiar to everyone during the long period during which he filled his sacred mission. He was not only a man of elegant learning, but of excellent common sense and a very public spirited citizen. He encouraged education in every way, not only by organizing and patronizing schools for the immediate training of his own people, but by favoring all other schemes for general intelligence. He brought to Detroit the earliest printing press that was known in the territory, and compiled and published some religious and educational works for his own flock, and some selections from French authors for reading.

"He was an early officer of the University of Michigan, (now at Ann Arbor), and a teacher or professor in it. His acquaintance was prized among Protestants as well as Catholics. His quaint humor and shrewd

sense in no way weakened by his imperfect pronunciation of English are pleasantly remembered by all who had the good fortune to know him while his brief prayer for the legislature, that they might make laws for the people and not for themselves, was a very comprehensive summary of sound political philosophy."

In person Father Richard was tall and spare, his face seemed like parchment, so little flesh was there on his high cheek bones, his forehead prominent, his bearing dignified and graceful, he was in all respects an ideal priest.

His holy and venerable assistant, Father Francis Vincent Badin, was similar in appearance and as gentle mannered and in this respect he greatly differed from his brother Stephen Theodore, the Kentucky missionary, who had the distinction of being the first priest ordained in the United States, who was round of figure and bonhomie in manner.

Fathers Richard and Badin were fair types of the ascetic priests who brought to our shores from France more than a century ago the fervent faith and the charming manners of the *ancien regime*, of Catholic France.

Fifty years after the death of Father Richard, Bela Hubbard, a local historian of celebrity, but not of the Catholic faith, placed upon the massive facade of the City Hall of Detroit, four statues designed to commemorate the memory of the men chiefly identified with the exploration and the civilization of the West.

Mute as are their sculptured stones, they represent great men in their respective epochs; soldiers of the cross, celebrated members of two great religious orders, were James Marquette and Gabriel Richard; and of the sword and chivalry of old France, Robert de La Salle and Antoine de La Mothe Cadillac.

THE STE. ANNE'S OF 1828.

GOVERNOR BLACKWELL OF PENNSYLVANIA ADVISES

The Provincial Council of the "Rumors of Danger from the French and Indians in Conjunction with ye Papists to cut off ye Protestants or at Least to Reduce them to ye See of Rome."

MINUTES OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA "HELD AT YE GOVERNOR'S LODGEING YE 29TH 6TH MO. 1689."

PRESENT:

John Blackwell, Esq., Govr	Samuel Carpenter,	Griffith Jones,
John Curtis,	Wm. Clark,	John Hill,
Peter Alrichs,	John Symcock,	John Bristow,
Barth. Coppock,	Wm. Markham, Secre.	

Council met at "3 of ye Clock in ye afternoone, p cise."

The Gov acquainted ye Councill, That ye reason of his calling them together at this time was to minde them that there had been formerly severall Rumors of danger from ye french & Indians, in conjunction with ye Papists, for ye Ruine of the Protestants in these parts, and of ye alarme formerly given, as if 9 thousand french & Indians were then neare approaching for yt purpose, upon wch ye Justices & Sheriff's of y two Lower Countyes, with ye people thereof, had betaken themselves to armes for their defence; whereof he then gave ye Councill an account, from ye Letters he recd out of ye sd Countyes: as also, of a Letter he had recd from one Capt Le Tort, (a french man, living up in the Countrey,) agreeing therewith; which they did not see any reason to give heed unto: And further, to acquaint them yt he had lately recd a letter from Mr. Joshua Barkstead, out of Maryland, advertising there was sufficient proof that ye Papists in Maryland had been tampering with ye french & Northern Indians, to assist them to cutt off ye Protestants, or at least to reduce them to ye See of Rome, &c., which Letter was read in Councill: adding an account thereto of y Crueltyes & barbarous usage of ye french Indians upon ye people of New England; murthering about 100 persons, burning houses, & plundering ye people of their goods & Cattell, &c., and (using ye Proverb) that there

was no smoak without some fyre. That these things might be Expected to come suddanily upon us, as well as our neighbours. That his office was to be their watchman, & he durst not conceale the Knowledge of these things, Without acquainting them & receiving their opinions & advices what was fitt to be done therein for their security, and setling the mindes of ye People, who in some places, (pticularly in New Castle,) upon the apprehension of feare from these things, had been very much disquieted & taken themselves to armes, but were quieted by the Justices of that County residing amongst them. He also acquainted them, That divers of the inhabitants of New Castle had declared themselves unsatisfyed That King Wm. had not been proclaymed as in other Countyes, & that ye same had been signifyed to him by Mr John Cann, By whom ye Govr sayd he had sent them word; he had not recd any orders for ye doing it, nor did he know in what manner or tearmes it was to be done, having never seen any proclamation for that purpose; and that he feared he might either Exceed or fall short of the titles ought to be given to him, which would (he thought) be treason in either case; That he Expected ye first ship out of England would bring orders about it, and ye upon receipt thereof, he would do as he should be directed. That having called ye Councill to advise him these cases, he had nothing else to trouble them about at this time; but if any damage should happen to them for want of what informacord he had recd he knew he was responsible to ye King & state of England, (to ye hazard of his life,) if ye Province should be invaded & lost out of his Majtyes Dominions: & Therfore, prayed they would be very Serious & Solemne in giving him their opinions & advice what they thought of these informations, and what they would have him do therin, for he knew he could do nothing without their assistance, but suffer with them, which he feared was neare at hand, &c.

Wherupon Peter Alrichs gave an historicall accot of ye proceedings of ye Mohawks in the year 1665, Concluding he did not think they were any great number, or that there was cause to be affrayed of them, &c.

Wm. Clark sayd: he believed some thing might have been heretofore intended of such a nature as was suggested, but that being frustrated, he believed that designe is wholly dead; nevertheless, that he thought they were obliged to ye Govr for signifying these things to them.

John Symcock sayd: he did not see but that we are as Safe, Keeping peaceable, as those that had made all this strive.

Griffith Jones sayd: he saw no cause of danger if we can but Keep quiet among ourselves.

John Bristow sayd: he saw no need of raysing forces, for he saw no danger; But that he looked upon it as the privilege of the people to have their members psent if there be. (so also sayd John Symcock.) To wch ye Govr replyed he had given order to have all such as were allowed members of ye Councill to be Summoned; but if they refused to come he could not help. He must & would be satisfyed with yr opinion & advice of such as were psent.

John Hill sayd: He had spoken with very eminent knowing men & saw no likelyhood of danger.

Samll Carpenter sayd: he had spoken with two psons that came from Maryland, who did not believe what was talked; that he did not feare any thing from any news we had thence, and yt he was of opinion wth John Bristow, for having all their members present.

Barth. Coppock sayd: the news was new to him & it did not appeare to him that we are in any danger [at psent] by the Indians, or papists either: and was of the same opinion about having all their members psent.

John Curtis sayd: he had heard a great while of these things, But they signify nothing but a Rumor; as for ye Indians, they are quiet, & for his owne perticular he had no feare upon him, & that he was of the same opinion about having all their members psent.

Wm. Markham sayd: he apprehended That to speak of danger from ye Indians would but skare ye women & children; and that our Constitution will not admit us to defend ourselves. The only way is to forbeare all thoughts or seeming fears of the knowledge of it; for that will represent us as people frighted, &c., unlesse we were under such a Constitution of Goverment as to take up armes to be ready upon occasion if any thing should come."

"ROMAN CATHOLIQUES ONLY EXCEPTED" FROM HOLDING OFFICE IN PENNSYLVANIA AFTER THE ACCESSION OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

At a meeting of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania held second day of the ninth month 1689, a Declaration of the Accession of William and Mary to the Throne of England was adopted and ordered to be proclaimed.

It declared that all officers "do stand, abide and remayne in the same stations, officers and imployments as they were and so remayne and continue until further Orders (Roman Catholiques only Excepted)."—[*Minutes of Provincial Council*, Vol. 1, p. 263.]

Wm. Penn writing the Commissioner of State of Penna., in 1688, 18th of 7th mo. said: "The King promises to exclude the Roman Catholics from Parliament rather than not have the liberty of Conscience by a law." [*Am. Museum* Vol. 6, p. 292.]

FEAR OF A "FEW FRENCH [CATHOLIC] FAMILIES" ON THE SCHUYKILL RIVER, PENNSYLVANIA, IN 1690.

In 1690 there was "a warr between ye Crownes of England and ffrance and our Enemies the ffrench barbarously murdered many of his Majesties Subjects very near ye confines of this Province" of Pennsylvania yet the Provincial Council would not "settle ye Country in such a posture that we maybe able by fforce of Armes to defend it against any assaults of our Enemies" as some of the inhabitants as well as Governor Blackwell desired.

Nevertheless there was fear of any French who were in the Province.

There were a few French families "up ye Skoolkill" and, presumably, Catholics. Else why the concern when the Provincial Council met on 24th of ye second month 1690.

The board being informed that Lassie Cock intends vp ye Skookilll among our Indians, ye beginning of ye next week, doe request that ye presidt, with ye present members, give Instruction to ye said Lacy Cock to make perticular Enquirie Concerning ye store and quanity of Ammunition in ye Custody of y ffew ffrench ffamilies seated vp the said River, and in Case he shall ffinde greater store then shall be judged Expedient to be left there, to have ye same secured, in ordr to be brought to Barnabas Wilcox's store, assureing the owner's Reasonable satisfaction ffor the same; and ffurther, that such of ye sd ffrench who may be justly suspected of vnfaithffullness to this province, may be, by ye most sutable meanes, perswaded downe here; and that ye Chief Sachem of our Indians may be assured of our good Intention towards them and their people, and that wee desire a meeting with their Cheif men as soon as they Cann Conveniently, giving vs notice of The time nine or tenn days before, and if he sees occasion to Imploy four or six Likely and trusty persons of Them to Range along the most likely parts, ffor ye Discovering of any Designs of ye ffrench, or their Indians, against the peace, who shall have Competent satisfaction at their Return to vs. And our desire is that Capt. Markham, Rob. Turner, with such Credible persons as may be perswaded vpon this service, goe along with y said Lassie Cock, and that he vpon all occasions, take ye advice & Concurrence of ye said persons; And in ye meantime, Care be taken ffor sutable presents ffor them at their meeting with vs.—[*Minutes of the Provincial Council*, Vol. 1.]

Perhaps Peter Debuc was one of these French Catholics. He, in 1693, made a bequest to "Father Smith."

Thomas Lloyd, Publisher of "The Unerring Authority of the Catholic Church in Matters of Faith," Philadelphia, 1789.

In 1789, Thomas Lloyd of Philadelphia, reprinted from the *London Edition* " The Unerring Authority of the Catholic Church in Matters of Faith. Maintained against the Exceptions of a late Author in his Answer to a Letter on the subject of Infallibility; or, a Theological Dissertation; in which the Infallibility of the Church of Christ is demonstrated from innumerable Texts of Scripture, from the Creed, from the Fathers and perpetual Tradition. To which is prefixed eight preliminaries, by way of introduction to the true Church of Christ. Seek and you shall find. Matt. 7, v. 7. London: Printed. Philadelphia: Reprinted for T. Lloyd, MDCCLXXXIX."

The following is an autograph letter of Rev. Jno. Carroll to Mr. Lloyd in relation to this work. It was given me by Mrs. Maria Shea, an heir of Mr. Lloyd. It is now in the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia.

BALTIMORE, Jan. 12th, 1789.

Sir:—With this you will receive the list of subscribers for the *unerring authority*, &c.—at least, such as I have been able to collect. For, notwithstanding my request to have the names of the subscribers returned by Christmas, many neglected it. My occupations here have prevented my seeing many persons in other parts of the State who would, I know, have added, their names to the list; but tho' I cannot now authorise you to put them down as subscribers, I expect to be able to do so in a short time.

I mentioned to you that Coghlan, the London Bookseller, had written to me something concerning a gentleman of your name, which I could not then recollect. He sent a letter at the same time, which I sent, not having the pleasure of knowing you then, to Mr. Molyneux, requesting him to enquire for the person to whom it was directed. I think Mr. Molyneux never gave any answer on the subject. I have now referred to Coghlan's letter, to find as follows:

"The letter to Thos. Lloyd, Esq., is from Mr. Southworth, Master of Sedgeley Park School. He is told the above is Secretary to Congress with an appointment of £2000 a year He begs you will let him know what Mr. Lloyd really is. He will remember my name."

I am with great regard, sir, your obedient and most humble servant. J. CARROLL.

In Mr. Sewall's list of subscribers two names are not filled up, they not being legible. They shall be obtained on another occasion. Mr. Robt. Walsh has some names likewise on his paper; but I cannot see him before Mr. Beeston's departure. I have not Mr. Green's returns. I saw on his subscription paper the following names; Hon. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Esq., Hon. Daniel Carroll, Esq., Mr. —— Leigh.

The Philadelphia subscribers to this work were:

P. B. Audibert
Rev. Francis Beeston
Rev. Theodore Browers
Rev. John Bolton
Thomas Betagh
James Berry
John Bousely
Connelly Bourke
John Bartholomew
Redmond Byrne
Mrs. Margaret Brewer
Moses Bussey
Joseph Barry
Hugh Boyle
James Burne
Michael Butler
Patrick Byrne
Christopher Cahill
John Cassin
Ann Cassin
John Connell
Dennis Christie
John Cain
Edward Cary Councell
Doct. Francis Cullen
Michael Connor
Eliza Mary Carroll
John Carroll
Nicholas Corly
James Corkrin
John Castaing
Hugh Christie
Eleanor Cook
Joseph Cropf
Nicholas Cropf
William Casey
William Doyle
Daniel Dowling
John Donohue
James Dugan
William Dugan
Sarah Dugan
John Dugan
George Dugan
Joseph Dugan
Mary Dougherty
Michael Durney
Terence Delahan
Mary Diamond
John Peter Eck
James Egan
Paul Esling
Nicholas Esling
Daniel Fitzpatrick
Catharine Fitzsimons
Thomas Fogerty
Rev. Lawrence Graessl
James Costelloe
E. Gardette
Joseph Groves
Anthony Groves, Jr.
Maurice Hussey
Mrs. Hassel
Christopher Harper
John Harrigan
John Honecker
Edmond Hogan
Dominic Joyce
Peter Joyce
Lewis Jenkins
William Jenkins
Rev. Thomas Keating
John Keith
John Karr
Joseph Lilly
Mary Lloyd
Eliza Lloyd
Molly Lloyd
Hannah Lloyd
George Leaf
Catharine Leaf
John Leamy.
Edmund Mubrey
Eleanor McCarty
James McWade
James Miller
John McGregor
Patrick McGrak
James McManeonon
John Murphy
George Meade
Michael Nowland
Patrick Nowland
Edmund Nugent
Michael M. O'Hrien
Thoma- O'Hara
John O'Hara
William-O'Hara
James O'Mahoney
Joseph Purcell
Valentine Pecan
Thomas Ryan
James Ryan
John Rudolph
Dom. Robertson
Thomas Seddon
Jeremiah Sullivan
Henry Snyder
Peter Scravendyke
Patrick Savage
Mary Scanlan
Joseph Snyder
Richard Sweetman
John Senhaus
Robert Thompson
Mark Wilcox
Mary Wilcox
Jacob Wiseboweg
Mary Wiseboweg
Jacob Walters
John Walters
Michael White

Rev. John Bolton was in 1789, Superior at St. Joseph's, Talbot Co., Md. Died in 1809. Buried in Newtown, St. Mary's Co., Md.

Rev. Theodore Browers, a German Franciscan, was at this time in Philadelphia, assisting Rev. Peter Helbron. He went to the western part of Pennsylvania and in August, bought "O'Neill's Victory," in Westmoreland Co., and in April 1790, bought "Sportman's Hall," the site of St. Vincent's Benedictine Monastery and College at Beatty, Pa.

Rev. Francis Beeston was the pastor of St. Mary's, Philadelphia.

1789.—Thomas Lloyd, the publisher of *The Unerring Authority of the Catholic Church*, in 1789, was an English Catholic of prominence in Philadelphia one hundred years ago. He was a short-hand writer, and devised a system which he published after 1810. James Carey had, in 1792, issued "Lloyd's Short-Hand," but Lloyd claimed that it was not his system complete and perfect.

Thomas Lloyd was the son of William and Hannah Lloyd. He was born in London August 14th, 1756. He was a descendant of the Penderels who secreted Charles II after the battle of Worcester, for which a pension was given the family. His Godmother was Lady Stourton, of whom the author of the Life of Bishop Challoner, (published, London, Nov. 1st, 1784, by J. P. Coghlan) called the "truly pious Lady Stourton, who not only possessed an affluent fortune but so charitable a disposition as never to suffer any real object of distress to pass unrelieved, and to employ in acts of benevolence and charity all that wealth which the generality of others of her rank and fortune are accustomed to spend in pomp and splendor."

Lloyd was a student at St. Omers from 1763 to 1770. There he met Leonard Neale, afterwards the second Archbishop of Baltimore. By his advice Lloyd came to America and settled on the eastern shore of Maryland in 1771. After the battle of Lexington he joined Captain Thomas' Independent Company and served until the Flying Camp in 1776. He was at once appointed an Ensign in the fourth Maryland Regiment and with it engaged in the battle of Brandywine, Sept. 11th, 1777. While spiking a gun as the Americans were retreating he was shot, bayoneted and captured. He was among the wounded exchanged by Washington and Howe. His wounds were then attended to by the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Rush. On recovering he returned to duty.

In 1779 Lloyd was attached to the Quartermaster General's Department under General Green as Captain. In 1781 he was Secretary to the Treasurer of the Finance Department. On October 2d, 1780, he married, at Lancaster, Pa, Mary Carson, daughter of Robert and Elizabeth Carson, who was born in Philadelphia Oct. 15th, 1762. After the war he settled in Philadelphia, became stenographer to Congress and edited the Debates of the Legislatures of New York and Pennsylvania. In 1787 he established the *Congressional Register*. In 1791 he returned to England, and was accused Dec. 1791 of conspiracy and libel while imprisoned, for debt, in Newgate, London. He was tried, Dec. 17th, with Patrick William Duffin accused of the same crimes. Lloyd defended himself and though the Chief Justice declared on a point claimed by Lloyd that he must be acquitted of conspiracy yet if he was concerned with Duffin he must be convicted. Though there was not a particle of evidence that the two had ever known each other or exchanged words or met one another, both were convicted.

Lloyd claimed through all the stages of his trial that he was an American citizen and entitled, under English law, to a mixed jury. No attention was given his claim. Duffin was sentenced to two years and security for £200. Lloyd got three years, security for £1000, and an hour in the pillory. While pilloried he addressed the people on Republicanism, even while the officers increased his tortures. The people cheered him and threatened to release him. On Oct. 14th, Lloyd appealed to Thomas Pinckney, U. S. Minister to England, claiming that "the United States are bound to interfere in my behalf upon this my solemn application, in order to obtain for me the redress of the injuries I have sustained."

But redress was not given. Lloyd served his term. He was released February 1796, and returned to Philadelphia.

I speak of this case so fully as it may, perhaps, be the first case of the trial and imprisonment of an American by England. It illustrates the fact too that our Country has not progressed beyond 1793 in defending its citizens in England. Lloyd claimed a mixed jury had been uniformly allowed when made by or for a foreigner of any other nation, and that "an odious distinction had been made to the prejudice of a citizen of the United States."

Thus it seems that a Philadelphia Catholic was the first to raise this question which is not settled to our country's honor. As imprisonment for debt (for which Lloyd was in Fleet St.) has been abolished in England and this Country, Lloyd's full and earnest point of defence, that such an imprisonment was "unjust, unconstitutional, illegal and an offence against that personal liberty which is man's natural, inherent right, which cannot be taken or surrendered unless by the commission of some great and atrocious crime."

The force of his reasoning was years afterwards acknowledged in the abolition of imprisonment for debt.

This account of an early Catholic American publisher may be of interest. According to Finnotti's *Bibliographia*, "C. Talbot late of Dublin, Printer and bookseller" published in 1784 at Philadelphia. *The History of the Old and New Testament.* This was "the first book issued in this country by a Catholic bookseller," according to the opinion of John Gilmary Shea.

Lloyd was then the second Catholic publisher. He left historical treasures in abundance. Nearly all have been destroyed.

He died January 19th, 1827, leaving four daughters. His daughter Mary, born January 26th, 1784, died in 1879. Betsey who was born 1781, died 1875. No descendants are now living. Dr. Benjamin Rush once, in visiting Mr. Lloyd, observing the book, read its title, and said, "Who ever doubted it?"

The Quakers of Chester, Pa., Employ "a Rigid, Virulent, Irish Bigotted Papist," Schoolmaster in 1741.

Rev. Mr. Backhouse of Chester, Pa., writing to the [London] Society for the Propagation of the Gospel on December 9th, 1738, said:

"I know but four or five families of Papists in all my circuit, tho' there are many reputed ones in Quaker garb and frequent their meetings." [Historical Collection American Colonial Church, Vol. II. p. 202.]

Backhouse, on July 25th, 1741, wrote urging a salary for "one Charles Fortescue the most diligent schoolmaster we ever had at Chester." Saying: "the Quakers with all their power and ill offices have endeavored to drive him way and set up another, one of their own sort truly, but a native Irish bigotted Papist in opposition to him. And that not with that sliness and caution they are used to act in other affairs. But openly and without any reserve." *ibid*, p. 216.

Writing on October 13th, 1741, he said:

"In my former letters I told you how the Quakers behave to us with regard to our master, and I assure you I was very short in my account to what might be said. Lest it might come to their knowledge I consequently be made very uneasie in my station."

"A RIGID, VIRULENT PAPIST" SCHOOLMASTER.

The "congregation of St. Paul's Church in the town of Chester and Province of Pennsylvania in America" sent a petition to "the Rt. Rev. and Honble. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," saying that Mr. Charles Fortescue "left Maryland where he had better offers to offer himself as master of our school." Mr. Backhouse found him capable of teaching Latin and Greek and he is acknowledged by all men to be an able Mathematician.

His temper and prudence are conspiculously good as hath been demonstrated by his behaviour under the Trials, and, as we may properly call it, Persecution he has met with from the Quakers. For as the greater number of church members, in and about the skirts of our town, are poor, and consequently we found ourselves not capable to give an encouragement adequate to his merits, or sufficient to maintain his family, so we, with all

the address imaginable, made an essay to influence the Quakers to join with us in supporting him. But behold, as soon as they perceived by his sober and pious conversation, that the good of the church was naturally involved, and would be still further promoted by fixing that Gentleman here, besides their public insults and private machinations. They did what none but Quakers dare do, in the country under the government of a Protestant King. That is, they engaged by their great encouragement a rigid, virulent Papist, to set up school in the said town of Chester, in order to oppose and impoverish the said Protestant teacher. Upon such proceedings we meekly and seriously debated the matter with them, alleging the inconsistancy thereof under a Protestant Government, and showed them, that the same was contrary to the Statue of the 11th and 12th of King William III, with others of a like nature. Yet, notwithstanding they did, and still persist to encourage the same. Nay they carried their implacable malice so far as to occasion by threats and promises most of the children who were under the said Protestant Teacher's tuition to be taken from him without being able to give any reason for such their proceeding. But only this indubitable one (which we do not attest to the Hon. Board to be true) of his being a zealous Protestant of the established church and sincerely attached to the present happy establishment which are qualifications sufficient, we are assured, to incur their displeasure, when at the same time Deists, Jacobities, and Papists, are embraced and promoted and the most blasphemous doctrines propagated and unpunished.

POPISH PRIESTS NUMEROUS.

Writing on June 14th, 1742, Mr. Backhouse said: "I believe more care is taken over our children in instructing them in their catechism in the doctrines and discipline of our Church than any where else in the Province; by our vigilant master, Mr. Fortescue, which raises ye envy and whets ye malice of ye Quakers, who still maintain their Popish master purely in opposition to ours."

The "opposition" of the Quakers to Schoolmaster Fortescue seems to have been successful.

In December, 1743, he advertised in *The Pennsylvania Journal* of Philadelphia, that he was "in the Alley called Mrs. Taylor's," where he taught "the Latin tongue in the day and evenings."

"THE STORY OF MARCUS WHITMAN" REFUTED.

By H. M. BEADLE.

Our Presbyterian friends are determined that the world shall know what a hero their church possessed in Dr. Marcus Whitman, their missionary to the Cayuse Indians, at Wailatpu, Oregon, now in the state of Washington. They do not honor Whitman because of his exceptional sanctity, or of his labors in converting Indians to Presbyterian Christianity, or of his teaching them the ways of civilization; but because he saved Oregon to the United States, making a winter journey across the Continent to the East for that purpose in 1842–3, and bringing back with him in the summer of the latter year a thousand immigrants to Oregon. If this story were true, Dr. Whitman would deserve to be remembered most kindly by the people of the Northwest, and the whole country would unite in commending his patriotism and self-sacrifice.

But, if the story is true, there should be some record of his great services outside the writings of his panegyrists. If he brought such weighty reasons to President Tyler and Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, as to induce them to change the policy of the government, there should be a record of it somewhere. If he was a man of such force of character and intellectual power as to change the policy of states and nations in a visit of a few days to Washington, some one beside his fellow missionaries must have been aware of it and left a record throwing some light upon his character and services. Outside his record as a missionary, and the fact of his making a winter journey over the mountains from Oregon and of his return the next summer, history has little to say of the man or his services. His biographers have constructed a story about him to fit the history of the times, not so much to glorify Whitman, whose unfortunate murder by the Indians he had been instructing for eleven years aroused universal sympathy, as to gain sympathy for themselves and help to push forward their own schemes. To give the story a foundation, it had to be assumed that the Tyler administration was about to betray the interests of the country in the Pacific coast to England in return for some advantages obtained for the Eastern States; a pure invention, without any proof whatever to sustain it.

It is not probable that, in any case, the boundary line between the Dominion of Canada and the United States could have been located south of the 49th parallel, the present line. Great Britain never claimed "exclusive jurisdiction over any portion of that territory"—(Protocol Dec. 16 1826)—but that country did hope to maintain exclusive jurisdiction over that part of the territory north and west of the Columbia river. This could never have been yielded by the United States. President Adams proposed that the 49th parallel, the line separating the two countries east of the Rocky Mountains, should be extended to the Pacific Ocean. That Great Britain hoped to obtain better terms is proven by the fact that the proposition was not entertained. The joint occupation of the country, agreed to in 1818, was continued indefinitely, to be terminated by either party giving a year's notice to that effect. This treaty was continued for thirty years, but such was the feeling in this Country against Great Britain that no administration would ever have thought of consenting to any boundary line south of that finally agreed upon.

The title of the United States to the country west of the Rocky Mountains and north of the 42nd parallel, the then northern boundary of Mexico, was clear, and not disputed by any nation except Great Britain. Spain had discovered the coast of the Country and the United States inherited Spain's title by purchase from France. Capt. Gray, of Massachusetts, had discovered the Columbia river in 1792, and Lewis and Clark had taken possession of it in the name of the United States, in 1806. The government had encouraged the settlement of Astoria in 1811, and had assisted Rev. Jason Lee in taking out colonists to Oregon in 1839. It was believed in official circles that the colonizing spirit of the American people would in the end give, as it did give, the country to the United States without a contest. As soon as the British premier was assured, though in an indirect way, by Daniel Webster, that the rejection of the proposition submitted by the younger Adams in 1826 and renewed by Tyler, by the British Commissioner, Pakenham, would involve the two countries in war, unless disavowed by the British Government, the contention of that Government that the Columbia river should be made the boundary was given up, and Tyler's proposition practically accepted, and this was the basis of the treaty settling the Oregon boundary made during Polk's Administration.

There had been some apprehension of danger to the interests the United States from the occupation of Oregon by the Hudson Bay Company, which practically held the Country. That company had such power that no other parties could purchase furs west of the mountains. Cushing reported to the

House of Representatives in 1839 "that the ultimate rights of the United States (in Oregon) are seriously endangered" by the occupation of the Country by the Hudson Bay Company. Embodied in the same report is the opinion of Nathaniel J. Wyeth, who wrote: "A few years will make the country as completely English as they desire. . . . Already Americans are unknown as a nation. . . . A population is growing out of the occupancy of the country whose prejudices are not with us, and before many years they will decide to whom the country shall belong, unless in the meantime the American Government make their power felt and seen to a greater degree than has yet been the case." This was true when Wyeth was on the Columbia, was doubtful in 1839, but in 1843, when Whitman arrived in Washington, was without foundation in fact.

The business of the Hudson Bay Company was to get furs. It was opposed to the settlement of the country by any people, for furs cannot be had in a settled country. When the Methodists established their mission in the Willamette Valley, the beginning of the end of the rule of that company had come. After that the company could do but little to delay settlement, and it did not attempt it. Its officers, under the wise direction of John McLoughlin, treated the missionaries with the greatest consideration, and aided them in many ways.

H. H. Spalding reports that Dr. Whitman said, in the latter part of September, 1842; "I am going to cross the Rocky Mountains and reach Washington this winter, God carrying me through, and bring out an emigration over the mountains next summer, or this country is lost." Again Spalding makes Whitman say a "deep-laid scheme was about culminating which would deprive the United States of this Oregon, and it must be broken up at once, or this Country is lost." This bears on its face the stamp of falsehood. No one has ever stated what this scheme was or why, if it was carried out, Oregon would be lost to the United States. Dr. Whitman never put such ideas on paper; neither did Mrs. Whitman, and they must be rejected as coming from Whitman. If there was such a scheme, Whitman would have told Lovejoy of it, and Lovejoy would have mentioned it in his account of the cause and incidents of their hard journey to the States.

It is impossible, without consuming too much time and space, to show the untruthfulness of the "Story of Marcus Whitman" in all its particulars and trace its growth from its small beginnings, or to refer to all the literature relating to it. I hope to establish two propositions, (1) that the claim that Whitman saved Oregon has no foundation of fact to rest upon, and (2) that the only connection Dr. Whitman had with the immigrants of 1843 was that of guest till they arrived at Fort Hall, and their paid pilot from that place to the Columbia river.

The Flathead Indians, living on the Bitter Root river, now in the boundaries of Montana, sent four delegations to St. Louis to invite Catholic priests to live among them and teach them the Christian religion. The first delegation, four chiefs, arrived in St. Louis in 1831 or 1832, but no one understanding their language, and two of them dying, their mission was a failure. Three other delegations were sent, but two of them arriving at St. Louis, all the members of the other delegation being killed by the Sioux. This is a most interesting story and those who wish to pursue it will find all the facts related in "The Indians and Whites in the Northwest," by Rev. L. B. Palladino, S. J.

The application of the Flatheads for Catholic missionaries was elaborated by zealous Protestants who heard of it until it was made to appear as an appeal of these Indians to have the Bible brought to them, and persons were asked to volunteer as missionaries to carry the Gospel to them. In response, Revs. Jason and Daniel Lee, natives of Canada, and others were sent out by the Methodists in 1834. They passed the Flatheads by and established the Methodist mission in the valley of the Willamette. The American Board of Missions, of Boston, representing both Presbyterians and Congregationalists, sent out Rev. Samuel Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman, in 1835. Whitman went as far as Green river and then returned for more missionaries; Parker also passed the Flatheads by, and located the mission among the Cayuses, at Wailatpu. The Cayuse Indians are evidently the same tribe that Washington Irving, in "Astoria," called the "Skinses," the "u" being mistaken for an "n." The name of the tribe has been given to a quality rather than breed of horses, an ordinary horse being termed a "Cayuse" throughout the mountain country.

While he was east Whitman married Miss Narcissa Prentice, and he and his wife, and the Rev. H. H. Spalding and his wife, went to Oregon the next year, Whitman locating at Wailatpu and Spalding at Lapwai, now in Idaho, among the Nez Perces. The American Board established two other missions in that country, which gave greater promise of success than those at Wailatpu and Lapwai. In 1842, the American Board abolished these two missions, consolidating them with the other missions. This was an unexpected change of policy, and evidently it greatly troubled both Whitman and Spalding. The fact of the discontinuance of these missions has been concealed by those who have sought to make it appear that Whitman's journey was made wholly for the purpose of saving Oregon to the United States.

The appearance of Catholic missionaries also troubled Whitman. Fathers F. N. Blanchet and Modeste Demers arrived in Oregon in 1838. The latter had been among the Cayuses and many of them were baptized by him. In 1840, Father De Smet, S. J., went among the Flatheads, and in a journey to Fort Vancouver visited the Cayuses also. Whitman was of the opinion that if the missions at Wailatpu and Lapwai were abandoned they would be occupied by the Catholics. The danger of having his missions superseded by Catholic missions appeared imminent to him, and when the orders of the American Board were received, he called a conference of all the Presbyterian missionaries at Wailatpu, and proposed to them that he should go East immediately. There was some objections at first, but on Whitman's saying he would go any way, his journey was endorsed. Gray, Spalding and Eells said, many years afterward, that the object of this journey was to save Oregon to the United States and bring out immigrants to settle the country, but Whitman never said so. Writing to the American Board four years after, he said: "In the fall of 1842, I pointed out to our mission the arrangements of the Papists to settle here, which might oblige us to retire. This was urged as a reason why I should return and try to bring out men to carry on the secular work of the missionary stations, and others to settle in the country on the footing of citizens but not of missionaries. You will please receive this as an explanations of many of my opinions and much of my policy." Here the reason for his journey was clearly stated, and it was to forestall the arrangements of the "Papists" for settling in that country.

Without naming anything which Whitman did, Peter H. Burnett, who went to Oregon in 1843, and who joined the Catholic Church the next year, speaking of Whitman after his death, said: "In my best judgement he made greater sacrifices, endured more hardships and encountered more perils for Oregon than any other one man, and his services were practically more efficient than any other, except, perhaps, those of Dr. Linn, United States Senator from Missouri. I say *perhaps*, for I am in doubt which of these two men did more in effect for Oregon."—(Recollections of an Old Pioneer, p. 249.)

A. L. Lovejoy went to Oregon with White's party in 1842, arriving there late in September. He returned with Whitman, starting on the third of October. Lovejoy says that on his arrival near the mission on his way to the Willamette, Whitman visited him and wished him to draw up a "memorial to Congress to prohibit the sale of ardent spirits in this country." Before they started on their journey East, he says he had many

conversations with Whitman "touching the future prosperity of Oregon," but he does not mention the subject matter of any of them. When Lovejoy met Whitman the next summer "near Laramie," Whitman told him he had seen "President Tyler, Secretary Webster, and a good many members of Congress," and that he "urged the immediate termination of the treaty relative to Oregon, and begged them to extend the laws of the United States over this country." Not once does he say that Whitman told him that he went to Washington to save Oregon, or that his visit had saved it.

Daniel Lee says that "Whitman went to the United States to obtain further assistance."—(Lee and Frost's Oregon, p. 213.)

While Whitman was on his journey, McKinlay, factor of the Hudson Bay Company at Fort Walla Walla, a warm personal friend of Whitman, wrote the American Board in reference to the mission at Lapwai; praising Spalding as a missionary, and hoping that he would not be recalled. This letter was evidently written to strengthen Whitman with the Board.

The American Board received Whitman coldly, refusing to pay the expenses of his journey, but authorizing him to continue the missions without putting the Board to any expense. The danger which Whitman apprehended that the Catholics would take possession of the missions if they were abandoned, seemed to have had no weight with the Board. Slow collections, because of hard times, had most probably a great deal to do with the action of that body.

It would be expected that Whitman, in common with other citizens of the United States, was anxious that Oregon should be settled by Americans, but he had less to do with the colonization of the country than the Lees and others sent out by the Methodists. Elijah White, first Indian agent in Oregon, who conducted the immigration of 1842 to Oregon, on his journey to assume the duties of his office, had been to Oregon as a missionary and had gone back to the States because of a disagreement with Jason Lee. The latter had crossed the plains to the States in 1838, and lectured on Oregon at every convenient place as he traveled East from the Missouri river. He carried with him a memorial to Congress in regard to the condition of affairs in Oregon. This, with a letter written by him, was published in Cushing's report to the House of Representatives in 1839. Nathaniel J. Wyeth also contributed a paper to this report, showing the character of the soil and climate of Oregon. The Methodists of the United States deserve whatever credit is due for the colonization of Oregon. It was their men and money that laid the foundation for the States of Oregon and Washington.

The United States government was always alive to the importance of Oregon, as without it the country would be shut out from the Pacific Ocean. The House of Representatives, during Monroe's last administration, passed a bill for the occupation of Oregon. Monroe recommended that a military post be established south of the Columbia, on what was practically undisputed territory, and the younger Adams renewed the recommendation. Van Buren paid part of the expenses of taking some eighty persons to Oregon, by Jason Lee, in 1839. Senator Linn, of Missouri, introduced a bill for the occupation of Oregon that passed the Senate in 1843, before Whitman arrived in Washington. Organizations were formed in Massachusetts, Illinois and Missouri and other western States, to send colonists there.

Daniel Webster, in 1846, stated correctly the idea of the government in regard to Oregon, saying: "We have claimed up to forty-nine degrees and nothing beyond it. We have offered to yield everything north of it. The United States has never offered any line south of forty-nine and never will." England never expected the United States to yield any territory west of the Rocky Mountains east or south of the Columbia river. The Hudson Bay Company never claimed that British territory extended south or east of that river. The company carried on business in all parts of Oregon, but the occupation of the country south and east of the Columbia was in accordance with the treaty of 1818, and not of right. The Catholic missionaries from Quebec were to exercise jurisdiction only north and west of the Columbia. No settlement of the country south of the Columbia was ever attempted by the British. The territory that was in dispute lay north and west of that river. The Red river settlers, who came out in 1841, and brought out the first wheeled vehicles to the Columbia, settled at first near Puget Sound, but on learning that the Willamette valley was a far better agricultural country, removed there against the wishes of the company that had induced them to emigrate. There never was any good reason to suppose the United States would not defend its title to Oregon up to the forty-ninth parallel, and had not the younger Adams made an offer of this line to Great Britain, it is probable that British Columbia would now belong to this Country.

In order to lay the foundation for the assertion that Whitman saved Oregon, many wild and foolish statements have been made. One of these was that the Hudson Bay Company had represented Oregon to be a sterile country, the climate being so cold and disagreeable that it was practically

uninhabitable. In the English papers and magazines of that day the facts in regard to the soil and climate of Oregon were frequently published. The government knew all about the soil and climate of that country; the good features of the country being exaggerated rather than understated.

A charge was made by partisan journals, and repeated on the floor of the House by Charles J. Ingersoll, that Daniel Webster, in a speech at Baltimore, in 1842, had offered to trade Oregon for concessions from England to the fishermen of the Eastern States. The charge was untrue and had to be abandoned. This calumny might have been carried to Oregon by emigrants that year, but for Whitman to have acted upon such a rumor would have shown great lack of judgment.

It is also related that after Whitman had determined to go East, he went to Fort Walla Walla. While he was at dinner, an express arrived with the information that 150 Canadian and English settlers had passed Fort Colville on their way to the lower Columbia, and that a young priest, on hearing the news, rose from the table, threw his cap into the air, and said: "Hurrah for Oregon! America is too late! We have got the country!" This story is made out of whole cloth; there was no emigration from any part of Canada that year to Oregon and there was no priest, young or old, at Fort Walla Walla at that time.

Gray and Spalding assert that Whitman told Webster, while in Washington, in March, 1843, that he would take a train of emigrants in wagons to the Columbia, that year, and that Webster answered that if he would pledge himself to do this "the treaty would be suppressed." What treaty is spoken of is not stated, but the inference is that it was the treaty of Washington, negotiated by Webster and Ashburton, agreed to the previous August and ratified the previous November, which had no reference to Oregon whatever; and if it had affected Oregon, Webster would never have said that he would suppress it. If the treaty of 1818 was meant, Webster could only have said that in such an event notice would be given Great Britain terminating it in a year. But the story is absurd as are the words said to be used by Tyler in speaking to Whitman: "If you can establish a wagon route to the Columbia, I will use my influence to hold Oregon." Upon such ridiculous and unsupported assertions as these we are asked to believe that Whitman saved Oregon.

The government could not have been ignorant of the fact that wagons had been taken across the plains. Bonneville took wagons to Green river in 1832. Whitman had taken a spring wagon to Fort Hall in 1836, and two years afterwards, Gray brought it to Wailatpu, packing it over the Blue

mountains. In 1841, the Red river emigrants from Canada had brought their women and household goods in carts to the Columbia. The greatest difficulty in getting wagons over the mountains was in cutting roads through the timber. Crossing the plains, tires would have to be frequently reset on account of the dry air. By drawing tent cloths or wagon covers under the wagon beds, good boats could be made of them to cross rivers. Taking wagons to the Pacific was a task of labor not of engineering.

The statement that Whitman saved Oregon rests upon the unsupported assertions of his biographers. Burnett's summing up of the value of Whitman's services might be admitted, did we not know that Jason Lee had done more than Whitman toward making Oregon known to the American people. To claim that either one or both saved Oregon to the United States is absurd. That part of it settled by Lee and Whitman was never in any danger of being taken from the United States. The country would have gone to war on the proposition that the line should be further south than the forty-ninth parallel.

It now remains to be seen how far the statement is true that Whitman organized the emigration of 1843 and guided the emigrants to Oregon.

Whitman's historians say that he arrived in Washington March 2 or 3, 1843. After transacting his business in Washington, which must have taken ten days or two weeks, he went on to Boston, where he must have spent some time. He then went to New York, visiting his own relatives and those of his wife, and transacting some business. He spent some time in Illinois visiting relatives. He was back on the Missouri with other relatives, before the 20th of May, for he attended, by invitation of Peter H. Burnett, a meeting of a committee appointed by the emigrants, on that day. It is manifest that he could not have done much to organize the emigration that went to Oregon that year. He was not present when an organization was effected. Peter H. Burnett was the first captain, James H. Nesmith, afterwards United States Senator from Oregon, orderly sergeant, and John Gantt, pilot. Whitman remained behind when the train started, catching up with it on the Platte river. The only one who accompanied him was his nephew. He had no provisions except a ham, when he overtook the train. He rendered service to the emigrants as a physician, but he had nothing whatever to do with the government or conducting of the train until leaving Fort Hall.

Nixon states that Lovejoy followed Whitman to St. Louis, and spent his time organizing an emigration to Oregon. Lovejoy does not say so. Lovejoy is entirely silent as to what he did or where he went between the time of parting with Whitman at Bent's Fort and meeting him again, he said, "near Laremie," but Burnett says at Green river, the next summer. There is no evidence, excepting that of John Zechery, that either Whitman or Lovejoy did anything to encourage emigration to Oregon in 1843.

John Zechery, who was in his seventeenth year when he accompanied his father to Oregon, in 1843, says that his father was induced to go to Oregon by reading a pamphlet describing that country written by Dr. Whitman. No such pamphlet has ever been found, and no one excepting Zechery has ever seen or heard of it. As Zechery made the statement over twenty years after he arrived in Oregon, it is evident that he was mistaken as to the author of the pamphlet. There were many publications, some of them in pamphlet form, setting forth the advantages of Oregon, as a place of settlement, but none have been found written by missionaries.

The causes of the emigration to Oregon, beginning in 1843, were the hard times following the panic of 1837 and the belief that the government would deal generously with the settlers there in giving them lands. The financial condition of many people in the west was deplorable. Jesse Applegate sold a "steamboat load of bacon and lard for $100." Burnett, who was a lawyer, went to Oregon because he never could pay his debts if he remained at home. The total number of emigrants to Oregon in 1843 has been estimated by emigrants from five hundred to one thousand. Whitman, in his letter to the secretary of war, put the number at one thousand, but that is too large an estimate.

The newspapers of that day make no mention of Whitman. It is strange that a man, who had resided as a missionary in Oregon for six years, could have made such an extraordinary journey and met so many people along the route, in Washington, Boston, in the States of New York and Illinois, and there be no mention of him or his work in the newspapers of that time. Yet such is the case. Nile's Register is full of references to Oregon and of the emigration of 1843, but does not mention Whitman. Burnett and Daniel Waldo are the only ones who mention Whitman at the time of the starting of the emigrants. The latter fed him while the train was in Kansas, and again when it was on Snake river.

At Fort Hall, the emigrants were in doubt whether or not to attempt to take their wagons to the Columbia. Their pilot, John Gantt, left the party at that point and went to California. Whitman advised them to take their wagons along and said the route was practical. His advice was followed and he was employed and paid to pilot the train to the Columbia. Jesse Applegate's share of this expense was $45. Whitman piloted the train to the eastern foot of the Blue Mountains, when he left it in charge of Sticcas, or Istikus, a Cayuse chief who had met them at Fort Hall, and who conducted it safely over those rugged mountains, the pioneers having to cut the timber off the route for nearly or quite thirty miles.

The facts disprove the claim that Whitman saved Oregon to the United States. In stating them no reflection is cast upon him or his character, but his historians are shown to be unworthy of the slightest consideration. Whitman was an earnest, courageous, perservering man, who did his best to teach the Indians his form of Christianity, and the rudiments of civilization. That he failed is no reason for doubting his zeal or ability. To make Christians of pagan Indians, or even of pagan white people, is the laborious work of generations. In no single instance within the knowledge of the writer, has any nation or tribe of heathen people been made Christians in one generation. Civilization, as we understand the word, is a state to which no tribe of Indians has yet arrived.

Dr. Whitman was a good American, as nearly all of the first immigrants to Oregon were. But he was a most bigoted Protestant. He could see no good in anything Catholic, though two of his warmest admirers, McLoughlin and Burnett, became Catholics after forming his acquaintance, five and three years respectively, before his death, which both sincerely mourned. He was a just man, when his prejudices against Catholics did not interfere with his judgment. The claims made by his historians cannot be made out from his writings. As a missionary, and as a cit zen, he helped colonize Oregon, and by piloting the emigrants in 1843 from Fort Hall to the Columbia, he rendered valuable service to the country, opening a road over the most difficult part of the route between the Missouri and Columbia rivers, thus completing a road to the Pacific.

Rev. John Thayer of Boston sends Rev. Leonard Neale, Vicar-General, an Account of the Charge Against Him.

J. M. J.

Boston, October 14, 1790.

Reverend Sir:

I have always endeavoured to gain my enemies by mildness and charity. To all the insulting scurrilities in the papers in which they charge me with many things which have no foundation either in truth or in probability, I have only made the enclosed reply.

Extract No. 1.

Of an account of the supposed conversion of John Thayer formerly protestant minister at Boston in North America, who made believe that he had embraced the Catholic Religion at Rome on the 25th of May, 1783.

The public papers have already announed the conversion of a protestant minister wrought at Rome at the time of the miracles of the Venerable Labre. I am that Protestant, converted* to the Faith. I was born at Boston of a family in easy circumstances. I was brought up there in the protestant religion. At first I had refused to study but at the age of 16, by reflection and a certain desire of improvement I entreated my parents to put me to school. By dint of application, I repaired lost time, and by the helps of a good teacher made a tolerable rapid progress† I was made a minister of the puritan Sect,‡ and exercised my functions for two years, applying myself to the study of the holy Scripture and to preaching.§ In the meantime I felt a secret inclination to travel.

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* As he says.

† Was the Rev. Dr. Chauncy alive that matter might be inquired into.

‡ He has forgot to tell where and by whom ordained.

§ Down to Castle William.

I embarked for Europe and arrived in France at the end of the year 1781. I remained there ten months. I was then attacked with a fit of illness—after my recovery I spent three months in England. I returned to France with the intention of passing from thence to Rome—throughly prejudiced against the nation and the religion.

The reader will judge of the truth of the contents and will not be surprised if I imposed on the Roman Catholics in Europe.

True copy. Signed: JOHN THAYER.

(To be continued.)

Friday September 3d.

Mr. Printer:—Please to insert the following into your next paper and oblige a customer—This to certify that John Thayer formerly a puritan preacher, has preached and moreever had told several honest persons that all who go to protestant or other meetings were in the path of hell and the Synagogues of devils. Then he is a reprobate and damned, for having been on Sunday last P. M., to hear a Sermon preached on universal Salvation.

Ab orientis patribus Odventavit Osinus	Latin for	JOHN T.
Pulcher Fortissimus Sareinis aptissimus	Trist	This is the *Herald of Freedom* for Tuesday Aug. 31, 1790.

MRS. RUSSEL.

I am able to refute victoriously every insinuation to my disadvantage in the *Statement of Facts* and to cover with confusion the authors of it, if they are not lost to all shame. This I am ever ready to do in private to any gentleman who should wish it. But, Sir, I shall never engage in paper war. The impartial public will neither regard the *statement of facts* nor the insipid pieces against me in the *Herald of Freedom* but will ultimately judge of me by conduct. Too much scandal has already been given to our good protestant brethern since the establishment of the Catholic church in this town, as they are no way interested in our disputes. I shall take no further notice of what may be said against me hereafter.

JOHN THAYER.

Boston, September 15, 1790.

[*MS.* copy Riggs Library, Georgetown College.]

Bishop Concanen, the First Bishop of New York, Announces his Coming.

BISHOP CONCANEN TO REV. A. MARECHAL AT LYONS.

NAPLES, 15th June, 1810.

Dear & Very Esteemed Friend:

Mindful of yr request that I would acquaint you of the time of my departure from this port, I come to inform you, that at length Divine Providence has opened to me the long desired passage to the United States, & that, after numberless difficulties & trials, I hope with the blessing of God, to set sail, next Sunday, 17th instant, aboard the *Frances, Capt. Haskell*, for Salem near Boston. This is the only vessel permitted to depart from hence for N. America; & she is to convey home the Captain, & Crews of many other ships, to the number of 260 passengers. You will easily imagine, that in so crowded a vessel I must expect very bad accomodations; but it consoles me to think, that all I may suffer, is for the glory of God, & sake of our holy religion. It was thro the interest & recommendation of my friend Mr. Filicchi of Leghorn, that the Captain consented at all to take me on board, without any servant or companion. I am of course obliged to leave behind me some excellent Young Priests who were eager to accompany me, a clever & faithful servant man, who among many other qualities, is a very good Organist. I must humbly adore the dispensations of Divine Providence, & patiently bear the many contradictions I have hitherto suffered, but I am sensible that none of the new prelates stands more in need of able coadjutors than I do; whilst they are well supplied with sacred ministers; & I left almost alone. I have had in view, for some time past, a plan, which would crown my consolation, & be the future of the Church of N. York. I must confide it to you in confidence, & am persuaded, that you will be pleased to keep it to yourself, the inspired idea is this: that after a short time, when I hope that Propaganda can reassume business, I mean to demand for my Coadjutor, *cum futura successione*, the Revd. Mr. Marechal.—I request my dear Sir, you will never contradict or oppose this my inspiration. When the Almighty will conduct me to N. York we shall discourse at large on this subject; & I hope that at my arrival there I shall have the pleasure of receiving a letter from——(?)

I return you infinite thanks for yr goodness in providing me with the sermon books. I fancy I shall find Dr. Flaget in America, a Consecrated Bp. I sent over to Mr. Emery, by means of Mr. Gery, an acquaintance of his, authentic copies of all the Bulls for Doctr. Carroll & other Prelates.

Your most obliged & affect. Servt.

† RICHARD LUKE CONCANEN.

From Shea Collection, Riggs Library, Georgetown College.

REV. FRANCIS NEALE'S DIRECTIONS CONCERNING OLD ST. JOSEPH'S PASTORAL RESIDENCE AFTER THE DEATH OF BISHOP EGAN. APPOINTS REV. PAUL ERNTZEN HIS AGENT. ARCHBISHOP CARROLL'S VIEWS.

[Copy of the original at Old St. Joseph's, Philadelphia.]

Messrs Joseph Snyder & Charles Johnson.

Gentlemen:

I make bold (on the recommendation of the Revd. Mr. Barth) to send the enclosed power of attorney not doubting of yr prudence together with your good will to recieve & turn to the purpose intended the income interest of certain funds expressed in said powers.

It is my request, Gentlemen, that if any demand be made on you by the Revd Gentlemen of St. Mary's * * * not in your opinion corresponding with the intention expressed in this you will refer them to me.

1st. Confine yourselves to the repairs of the dwelling house & pay nothing for any other purpose untill the repairs for the dwelling house be entirely settled.

2d. As for the furniture, either for the Bed, bedding or other moveables, I wish none to be purchased out of the funds entrusted to yr care. The house ought never to have been deprived of what it formerly possessed.

If the Gentlemen who lived in the house returned to the house what was worn out in their services & not to have devided among themselves my annual rents totally distinct from St. Mary's funds—My confidence in the good Bishop deceased caused my not inquiring into the manner my rents were spent.

3d. I do not wish any addition to be made either to the house or chapel & no money to be borrowed for repairing excepting what the Funds can repay in one given year.

4thly. If the funds be not absolutely necessary for the essential repairs to the dwelling house, retain them in your hands & give me notice of the same. I will write to you later concerning the chapel.

I Remain. Gentlemen,
Respectfully,
Yr humble Servt.

Georgetown, Oct. 21, 1814. FRANCIS NEALE.

Endorsed:

Recd Oct. 26th, 1814.

Addressed.

Messrs Joseph Sneider & Charles Johnson.

Favd by the Revd Mr. Ben. Fenwick.

WHEREAS I PAUL ERNTZEN of Hertford, Berks County in the State of Pennsylvania, have by the Rev. Francis Neale of Georgetown in the District of Columbia been this day put in possession of the real and personal estate specified in the schedule hereunto annexed as his agent or manager.

Now I hold myself accountable to him or his heirs or assigns for the due management and faithful account of the profits thereof, so long as the same remains under my care and management. And I do promise to deliver the whole of the said personal property (death and inevitable casualties excepted) and the increase thereof to the sd Rev. Francis Neale or to his order or to his heirs or assigns or attorney in fact, within ten days after the shall have been demanded of me in handwriting. And I will well and faithfully deliver full, absolute and peaceful possessions of the said real and personal estate, the crop cut and secured or growing on the premises to him, the said Francis Neale or to his order or to his heirs and assigns attorney in fact within ten days after the same shall have been demanded of me in writing. And if I fail so to do I am to be taken and considered in law as a tenant at will holding over after the expiration of his time and notice to quit, and liable to be proceeded against in a summary way. As wittness my hand this thirteenth day of October in the year of 1812.

PAUL ERNTZEN.

WITNESS:
MICHAEL J. BYRNE.

Addressed
REV. MR. LEWIS DE BARTH,
ST. MARY'S, PHILADELPHIA.

Endorsed:
Rev. Francis Neales.
Agreement with Paul Erntzen.

Extract of a Letter from the most Revd Archbishop Carrel to the Revd Mr. Barth dated Balt Sep. 22d, 1814.

I am glad you correspond with Mr. F. Neale on the subject (the clerical house of St. Joseph) he will assuredly direct you to insist with Bp. Egan's Executors for repayment of the sums allotted for the repairs and preservation of the house and furniture: neither you nor Mr. Neale himself can make any legal demand on Mr. Kenny or on others who for many years past resided at the presbytery with Dr. Egan, to him alone the house was rented; it was his business to have retained out of its income the necessary sum for repairs, if he divided it improperly with his companions his executors may look for compensation to them, who received the advantage, but Mr. Neale has no demand to make but on the estate of the deceased Bishop.

The above is conformable to the original.

LEWIS BARTH.